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for this reason Magellan gave that group of islands the name of Ladrones (Spanish, "thieves"), and to this day the name of Ladrone Islands may be found on the map. According to the same authority, cases of treachery and deceit were also very frequent among the inhabitants of the Philippines.

Now in my opinion, and probably in that of most other men who have resided for a sufficiently long time among more or less primitive peoples, all these concrete instances (and they may be increased by a thousand similar ones) do not shed any light on that part of the moral code of these peoples which refers to their relations with one another, strictly among themselves. They merely prove that they thought or think it quite consonant with right behavior to steal from the white man and to deceive him whenever the occasion presents itself. But this is far from meaning that stealing and lying in general are permitted by their own standard of morality.

In order to proceed with order and clearness, I shall try in the following paragraphs, first to give an idea of the moral code of the Isneg, and then to consider more in particular the motives that are proposed to the child and the methods of training in vogue among them; after that a few comparisons between theory and practice will show in how far such training is usually successful.

1. The Moral Code

I shall begin by making a preliminary remark which I deem to be of supreme importance: the Isneg moral code does not exactly coincide with the Christian one, and so, what is considered good by the Isneg may very often be very bad according to our own principles. Now, in the next few pages, I shall try to see good and bad through Isneg eyes, and I hope that on that account the reader will not credit me, a Catholic missionary, with a pagan standard of morality. I shall put on the garb of an Isneg moralist for a few moments merely to give a better perspective to the whole treatment of this very important subject.

My first talk will be about virtues and acts of virtue and their opposites; afterwards I shall consider some vices and sins more in detail.

"In order to be a good and decent Isneg you should be faithful in complying with all injunctions of the shamans, in offering the regular sacrifices according to tradition and custom, in observing all taboos, in looking for omens and auguries before starting on anything im-

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576 When approaching a house he wants to enter, the Isneg usually says something aloud to the inmates of the house, just to let them know that he is there and indirectly to tell them to keep their dogs at bay; but for the rest he enters without more ado: the ladder being in place will show him that somebody is at home, and if there are no signs of taboos of any kind, things he very well knows and understands, he has free access to the house. On taking leave, he says: "*Mawčyðin*, I go now (*mawčkamiyin*, we go now)" or "*Mapánðin*, I go away [276] now (*mapánkamiyin*, we go away now)". When meeting people on the road or at some other place outside the house, a polite Isneg says: "*Awán xawádmo?* (Have you no betel pepper?)" or something similar with reference to chewing betel; in some cases he asks for it, in others he proffers it. Such is the usual salutation all over Apayaw.

576 858 Among the Isneg the code of etiquette is indeed reduced almost to its most simple expression; their respect is mostly of the rough kind: general principles, few details. Youngsters are usually allowed to mix freely in the conversation of older people, without having the semblance of being at all forward, and they will rarely be rebuked for doing so. The old fellows will answer them most of the time just as earnestly as if they were of their own age. Nevertheless a certain respect, which may seem a very vague thing to define, is always required and rarely absent.

577 609 But let us go back to our Isneg code of morals.

"If you want to be considered as a really good Isneg, be loyal to your friends. Love your friends, hate your enemies: that is our golden rule. Help all Isneg who are not an enmity with your settlement whenever you can. For instance, if two of you have to cross a river and your companion cannot swim, see to it that you save him from drowning, if necessary. Whenever there is question of taking revenge, stand by your own people; their quarrels should be yours. If they need you as a witness in their defense, do not fail them. Ibanag justice has been imposed upon us, but never mind, save your friends from jail by all possible means: lying before an Ibanag judge is no sin, provided it redounds to your own good or to that of your friends. Rather share the punishment of a companion than save yourself by furnishing state's evidence. We have our own ways of administering justice, the Ibanag do not understand them; why should we submit to their ways imposed upon us by force? Outwardly of course you should comply lest worse befall you; but never forget that you have to put your own people above everybody else. If you

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want to do a favor to an Ibanag, you are allowed to do so of course; 577
but in this you are entirely free. What right might he possibly have 609
to it? Is he not an outsider?"

Judges all over the Mountain Province could cite hundreds of examples of how little the natives can be relied upon to tell the truth, whenever there is question of one of their own. Once a Kankanay (and the case would be as typical here in Apayaw as it was there), a good friend of mine, asked me to lend him a peso: he would go to the neighboring town for me and carry whatever I wanted, paying his debt in that way. As I had heard his testimony only a few days before in the court of first instance, where he had told the brazenest lies without flinching, in order to save one of his townsmen, I told him that I little relied on his promises, because I had heard how nicely he had told the truth some days before. At once he retorted: "Oh, yes, but that was in court; I should never lie to *you* though".

It has often been said that a native of this province would let you die rather than help you when you are in difficulties, unless he is compelled to do so; and I know of many instances that would go to support the truth of that statement, but as far as I know, he acts that way only toward other people, not toward his own. Many years ago a Christian Visayan was dying in a town almost exclusively inhabited by Kankanay; he could easily have been saved by being brought to a neighboring hospital, but no people were found who were willing to carry the poor man. If no compulsion had been used in order to force them to bring him to the doctor, they would have let him die without mercy. Nevertheless one should not lose sight of the fact that in this case the means necessary for the recovery of the sick man were quite extraordinary and had perhaps never been heard of, or at least were not believed to be efficient by any ordinary Kankanay, so that it may be doubted if they always would render such a service even to one of their own people. As far as I know the Isneg, such an occurrence would be attended by the same circumstances among them too.

"A man should be grateful for a service done to him. After all 577
this is only a case of loyalty to friends. If somebody has helped 431
you out when you were in difficulties, do not forget it, but do him a good turn at the first opportunity. Never omit repaying anybody who may have done good to you. Whenever the people bring you gifts according to custom, be sure to notice the amount given by each person, and remember it, so that you may give him something equal

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577 on a similar occasion. Gifts as such do not exist, a gift is something
431 akin to a loan: what is given to-day should be returned some future day. Nevertheless there is a difference which you will understand presently. If a person is ungrateful to you and, instead of showing his appreciation of your help, repays you with ingratitude and does what is harmful to you, this may be a sufficient reason for revenging yourself, but do not remind him of your past kindness toward him: this would not only be very disagreeable to him, but it might give him a pretext for thinking himself in the right when he is quarreling with you. If you remind somebody of his debt of gratitude toward you, you make him ashamed and so exasperate him; he knows it all right or should know it anyhow; it is not for you to tell him about it. Do not say that in such a case you are simply doing what any creditor does, when he asks for the payment of a debt; no, this is quite different: to the return of what you lent, you have full right; but to gratitude, none. You helped him freely; let him remember his duty about it without the need of being told. Among us a loan is supposed to be asked back; nobody borrows anything without the tacit agreement that he will be requested to return it at some future time; this cannot be compared with the question of helping somebody in need
577 and reminding him of the fact afterwards. Gratitude is never obli-
609 gatory toward the Ibanag, especially toward those in authority. Is it not rather the reverse that is true? Is it not rather for them to be thankful to us for allowing them to rule us undisturbed? Is it not rather the Ibanag who have to be grateful to us for accepting their ministrations?"

602 A native Isneg has recently been appointed teacher in an agglomer-
577 ation belonging to the municipal district of Kabugaw. He rarely has anything out of his monthly salary left for himself, as the bulk of it goes to his relatives, helping them in their studies, paying their taxes, etc. The reason is that he wants to repay them now for the sacrifices they imposed upon themselves when he needed money while at school. And such cases are far from rare.

609 On the other hand, while I was living among the Kankanay, at a
577 place where no sanitary inspectors were residing and where the Gov-
[276] ernment furnished me with medicines for free distribution among the natives, more than once after I had bandaged a poor fellow's arm or else had poured medicine on some wound or sore, the patient would simply ask me for a few leaves of tobacco. Gratitude? Well, this had to be on my side, because the poor fellow showed his belief

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in the power of my drugs instead of following exclusively his own superstitions. At least I inferred from his conduct that this was his state of mind; and I believe I was not far from the truth. Similar cases are frequent also among the Isneg: doctors and sanitary inspectors know all too well about them.

"Be generous toward your friends. A miser is abhorred among us. If you bring down a wild boar or deer in the forest, share your good luck with your relatives and friends. These things were not worked for by you; fate brought them into your hands. If you have tobacco, share it with your friends; be a generous companion to every Isneg. When you offer a sacrifice be not stingy with the *bási*, and give everybody who happens to come along his share of rice and viands. Would you be happy if somebody prevented you from participating in a feast? Would you like to be excluded at the distribution of food and drink? Never cause your companions to say that you *umaxáwa* (or *iaxáwa*, "to put away dainties when a visitor is seen approaching the house, lest one should have to let him have a share in them") or *gumisád* (to close the doors at the appearance of a stranger while eating some delicious food, for the same reason): these are very opprobrious terms. With reference to the Ibanag, remember that those in authority have come here to help us, and more especially the white man: he has unbounded riches, and he has come here for the evident purpose of spending it upon us. Even though some of us are considered rich among ourselves, they are poor when compared with him. Let him pay double the price for whatever he needs. Is he not rich beyond anything you can imagine? Do not exclude him from your feasts, if he wants to participate in them, but expect him to be generous toward you in all transactions and business affairs."

Kadáw, who is considered the richest man in Apayaw, has come to my house more than once in order to sell articles which he could not get rid of elsewhere, and he usually charged us twice the regular price. When we told him that he is a rich man, which by the way he likes to hear very much, and that he at least should remember how we feed many of his people without remuneration, when we told him that he should help us in order to be merciful to the poor Isneg instead of taking advantage of our good will, he invariably retorted by saying that we have money galore, and what should we do with it except distribute it to the Isneg. Is this not the reason why we live among them? And *Kadáw* is not the only Isneg who entertains such an opinion.

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574 "Every Isneg should be renowned for his hospitality. Except in case of taboos, never close your gate to a wayfarer; give him a place at your hearth, give him a jar to cook his food in, allow him to sleep in your house; if you are eating, invite him to partake of your meal. Such is the rule. His ordinary needs should always be looked after, that is, all his wants which it does not cost you too much to supply. If your wife shows an inhospitable disposition, and you know facts that positively prove it, then you have a sufficient reason for divorcing her. No woman who refuses a guest the ordinary courtesy of receiving him hospitably should be allowed to share your home. A hospitable woman is an ornament to the house; an inhospitable Isneg is a disgrace to the race."

574 609 Nevertheless the Isneg are usually considered by outsiders as less hospitably disposed than most other inhabitants of northern Luzon. While among other tribes the best things they have are never too good for a guest, the Isneg are comparatively stingy in that respect: they rarely provide a guest with viands to eat with his rice, even though they have a sufficient amount of them at hand, except of course some kinds of vegetables and other eatables that can be found all around without the least exertion. Or is this due again to their evidently distinct way of treating members of other tribes, especially Kagayan? It has been told me indeed very plainly by several Isneg that with the Ibanag, you could do almost no wrong, and that almost everything was allowed with them. I myself have generally been received very kindly by all Isneg, but usually more so by natives who had travelled around and come in contact with other people. At Madatag an old man once called me in and killed a chicken for me: "This is the way", he said, "an honorable guest should be received; I know it, as I have traveled very extensively; those other Isneg, benighted people, they do not know how to treat a guest decently". And so the apparently less hospitable mind of the Isneg may perhaps be ascribed simply to invincible ignorance, instead of to stinginess or to lack of love for the Ibanag.

579 628 [67] "Revenge is sweet to every Isneg. Never let an injury pass by unrevenged. Much has been heard from the Ibanag about forgiveness; that term does not belong to our vocabulary. An Isneg who fails to exact full satisfaction for every misdeed is a coward. If somebody who belongs to an enemy village does you some harm, you have the right to revenge yourself upon anyone belonging to the same village: in such cases we recognize solidarity of guilt. A male-

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577 possession, he will rightfully suppose you to be a thief. Anything
421 that can be found in the forest is the property of the first man who
685 can lay hands upon it: so if you locate bees on a tree and see that the latter has been marked, leave them, they are not yours to take any more, the person who marked the tree will sooner or later come to claim
577 his property. Pay your debts faithfully, never forget about them.
426 The heirs of a deceased person inherit his debts as well as his property, and the creditor will appear some day to ask payment from their
686 hands. In case of a raid upon the house of a culprit,—for instance, when a girl has been made pregnant, or when a married woman has returned to her parents whether against the will of her husband or because the latter rightfully divorced her for adultery, etc., and her parents refuse to give back to the offended husband what he gave them at the time of his marriage, or when somebody has been killed among people who are on friendly terms with one another,—then of course, if you are a relative of the offended party, you are free to rob the house of all its valuables: this is not stealing, it is simple justice.

577 "You should not be so strict, however, with reference to the Ibanag:
609 almost anything is allowed when you deal with them. Plain stealing
421 of course should be avoided, but for the rest it would be hard to qualify anything by the name of injustice, when the Ibanag are in ques-
426 tion. Here, nevertheless, you should make a distinction: you may have good friends among them or they may be your guests, and then
437 of course strictly respect them and keep away from their property.
686 But, deceit in transactions, escaping the payment of a debt, and so on, which would be downright dishonesty if done among ourselves,
685 are just a sign of cleverness on your part, when the Ibanag are concerned. A good Isneg is strictly just with all his friends, with all the people of every village at peace with his own; enemies have no rights in the eyes of an Isneg, and the rights of the Ibanag are far from having the same sacredness as those of your own people".

685 Two years ago a Tubungan (near Abbil) man had been robbed of
628 a few of his valuables, while he was away on a trading expedition into Ilocos. After much investigating and lying in wait near the
[694] house of the suspected thief, the owner had become convinced of the latter's guilt, and immediately brought in a complaint, as the ac-
177 cused denied any participation in the theft. I met the plaintiff and his father, on their way to Kabugaw, in the municipal building of Namaltugan. Talking about the matter, I asked them what would

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have happened in the glorious times before the arrival of the soldiery. They quickly retorted that it would have been a case of killing the thief without more ado, from which of course an interminable series of blood feuds would have ensued. I then asked them what they thought the best way to settle such differences, the old or the new one. Both agreed that the actual way of deciding the matter was far superior to the other one. Then, I said this, seemingly as an afterthought: "But among us, to tell the truth, the old days were happy ones, weren't they?" "Of course they were", both exclaimed at once, "see how things would have been done formerly", and both of them picked up a shield and a headax, and started a mock fight. They were so enthusiastic about it that we, the onlookers, had to make room for our two warriors, in order to escape getting a cut from the axes they were brandishing: the old Isneg spirit was seen to have been revived at once; and this was merely for show, there was nothing serious about it of course.

"Truthfulness is a virtue that an Isneg should never lack. You will never amount to anything if you are known as a liar; people will always distrust you. Is there anything more shameful than being known as a man whose word can never be relied upon? Especially when talking about a third person, beware of being a slanderer: this would lead to quarrels, and quarrels would lead to blows or worse, and you would be in the wrong all the time. A little lie in order to make mirth and bring joy to the company, never mind; but be careful to truthfully inform anybody who might take the thing seriously, lest harmful consequences follow. It is perfectly right of course to save yourself or your friend from a bad predicament, even through lying, if that is the surest way; but for the rest cling to truth, and you will be respected all your life. You know very well how much you would resent being told to your face: "*Busidmo* (you lie)"; so never give anybody an occasion to throw such an insult at your head. With your enemies of course, and especially with the Ibanag, it is different, you may do anything to them; and they know very well that they cannot rely upon you. Why should you have any duties toward these people? They have no rights among us, not even that of being told the truth. A friendly Ibanag may be helped, no doubt about that, but then it will be done, not because you are obliged to tell him the truth, but because you want to be faithful to a friend. Do not mislead a wayfarer though, except in case you have the intention of securing his head or taking some

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lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

"Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for vengeance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the